They Came for Savages: 100 Years of Tourism in Melanesia, by Ngaire Douglas. Lismore, NSW: Southern Cross University Press, 1996. ISBN 1–875855–14–9, 300 pages, maps, tables, figures, illustrations, appendixes, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. Paper, A$24.95.

As the largest peacetime movement of people in the world today, tourism is vitally important for the contemporary Pacific. Yet studies of Pacific tourism have been relegated mainly to government documents and development plans. Now, with the timely publication of Douglas's *They Came For Savages,* the study of Pacific Island tourism can enter broad scholarly discourse.

The book is a historical survey of tourism in the Melanesian countries of Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu. But Douglas also argues that "the colonial experience and its legacy" have determined "the direction of tourism development and its level of achievement in each country" (34). In clear prose, Douglas synthesizes a vast range of materials, for example, scholarly publications, development studies, travel brochures, interviews, Burns Philp archives, government publications. The extensive bibliography itself is a valuable contribution to Pacific Island scholarship. Her discussion of the early years of tourism, particularly the ideological allure of the South Pacific "native" as revealed in the literary and visual tropes of travel literature and tourist brochures, is particularly noteworthy. The numerous black-and-white photos add substantially to the text, which was originally the author's University of Queensland PhD thesis. (Douglas, a lecturer in tourism at Southern Cross University, has coauthored with Norman Douglas numerous guide books to the Pacific; they are also coeditors of the *Pacific Islands Yearbook*.)

Chapter 1, "The Destinations," sketches the general cultural, demographic, ecological, economic, political, and colonial settings of the three countries. Chapter 2, "The Allocentrics," details the origins of Melanesian tourism in the latter nineteenth century (this early date may surprise many readers). It also interprets the Rousseauistic and Hobbesian images that frame Melanesia as a tourist attraction. Chapter 3, "The Excursionists," provides further detail on South Pacific ocean cruises, the development of air services, and accommodations.

The transition from the terror of World War Two to the nostalgic voyages of veterans in pursuit of battlefield memories is the topic of Chapter 4, "The Pilgrims." We also learn about the early production of curios, touristic legacies of the waning colonial orders, and war-related infrastructural developments (eg, roads, airfields, towns). By the mid-1960s, colonial administrations were systematically interacting with the growing tourism industry. These efforts and a host of short-lived, acronymic international ventures are the topics of Chapter 5, "The Planners."

Chapter 6, "The Indigenes," discusses local participation and "voices" in Melanesian tourism: entrepreneurial ventures (guest houses, tours, a small war museum on Vila), the John Frum cult as a touristic desti-

nation, controversy over the famous Naghol "death-defying" jump of South Pentecost, Sepik River carvings, the Highland shows, and the problematic encounter between capitalism and traditional land tenure and politics. (As an anthropologist, I found this chapter the most interesting.) Between 1966 and the mid-1980s, Douglas contends, Vanuatu embraced the economic potential of tourism and sought actively to build on colonial infrastructure, the Solomon Islands was cautious, and Papua New Guinea remained uncommitted to any particular direction.

In Chapter 7, "The Development," Douglas completes her historical survey by considering briefly contemporary issues related to revenue, transportation, accommodation, and government versus expatriate involvement. In Chapter 8, "The Theory," she applies Richard Butler's influential "tourist area cycle of evolution theory" (*Canadian Geographer* 1980) to Melanesia. The final chapter, "The Aspects and the Prospects," comments on the Tourism Council of the South Pacific and concludes with a note of caution. Tourism promises foreign exchange, investment, employment, and infrastructure, in a word, elusive "development." But it does so at a cost: land disputes, the reemergence of a plantation-style economy, commoditization of culture, anomie, disruption, and a shift from subsistence production to service-sector employment. Douglas fears the "seduction" of short-term gains at the expense of long-term concerns.

They Came for Savages is a scholarly achievement of ambitious scope. But there is methodological tension between the academic concerns of the book and the author's hope that it will appeal to policymakers. As a result, Douglas does not engage contemporary ideas of postmodernism, representation, transnationalism, postcolonialism, and hybridity (although she mentions the debate over authenticity). Readers interested in culture theory might be disappointed. Others, however, will welcome this absence in the name of narrative clarity and "data," rather than "doxa." For the first sustained monograph on Melanesian tourism, however, this is a minor quibble.

They Came For Savages will be a lasting contribution to studies of tourism in the Pacific. It is a well-balanced and detailed account of a topic that is fraught with emotion across the ideological and theoretical spectrum. *They Came for Savages* should encourage readers of this journal to further study tourism, in all of its complex and contested dimensions, for which the book will serve as a sound historical and empirical foundation.

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